

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

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R 220950 Z JUN 73

FM AMCONSUL BIEN HOA
TO AMEMBASSY SAIGON
INFO AMCONSUL CAN THO
AMCONSUL DA NANG
AMCONSUL NHA TRANG
SECSTATE WASHDC 022
USDEL JEC PARIS
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BIEN HOA 0221

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, VC

SUBJ: HUNGDELS ON ICCS ROLE AND PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

SUMMARY: TWO MEMBERS OF HUNGARIAN ICCS DELEGATION, IN JUNE 16 DISCUSSIONS WITH CONGEN BIEN HOA AND TWO CONSULS, CLAIMED HUNGARY AND SOCIALIST CAMP DESIRE PEACE IN SVN AND HUNGARY IS TRYING TO BE OBJECTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE IN ITS ICCS ROLE. THEY DEFENDED HUNGARIAN CONCEPT OF ICCS AS MEDIUM FOR QUIET DIPLOMACY AIMED AT BRINGING TWO SVN PARTIES TOGETHER, AND DENIGRATED AND SHOWED RESENTMENT AT PERIPATETIC CANADIAN APPROACH; BUT THEY DID NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY THAT IN FUTURE HUNGARIANS MIGHT JOIN IN CONDEMNATION OF PRG VIOLATIONS IN CERTAIN SPECIAL CASES. THEY PROFESSED TO BE " PERSONALLY" HOPEFUL ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AFTER JOINT COMMUNIQUE, AND QUESTIONED CONSUL GENERAL CLOSELY ON ISSUES OF ZONES OF CONTROL, CONTACTS OF OPPOSING

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COMMANDERS, AND WILLINGNESS OF GVN TO STRICTLY OBSERVE CEASE-FIRE. HUNGARIANS CONCEDED THAT RVNAF AND GVN ARE TOUGHER THAN THEY HAD EXPECTED BEFORE THEY CAME TO SVN, AND THAT PRG COULD NOT WIN GENERAL ELECTION IN NEAR FUTURE BECAUSE OF GVN CONTROL OVER MOST OF THE PEOPLE. THEY CLAIMED THAT SOCIALIST CAMP HAS BEEN URGING PRG TO SWITCH FROM MILITARY TO POLITICAL STRUGGLE, BUT IT WAS UP TO AMERICANS TO FORCE GVN TO PROVIDE CONDITIONS OF FREE POLITICAL COMPETITION IN SVN. THEY WERE IN NO HURRY TO HAVE GENERAL ELECTION, AND FAVORED "LAOS- TYPE" SOLUTION WITH COALITION GOVERNMENT WHOSE VARIOUS ELEMENTS CONTROL DIFFERENT ZONES IN SVN. END SUMMARY.

1. TWO ICCS HUNGARIANS DELEGATES, JANA BARABAS AND GEZA RYBKA, CAME UP FROM SAIGON SATURDAY, JUNE 16 (DAY AFTER THE " REAL CEASE- FIRE ') TO VISIT ICCS V HEADQUARTERS AND CONFER WITH THEIR COMPATRIOTS THERE, AND TO CALL UPON THE BIEN HOA CONSUL GENERAL. BARABAS AND RYBKA BOTH SAID THEY WERE FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, THOUGH THEY MAY WELL BELONG TO ANOTHER HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT. BOTH SPOKE GOOD ENGLISH AND WERE OBVIOUSLY POLITICALLY ASTUTE.

2. IN CALL ON CONSUL GENERAL, AFTER EXCHANGE OF AMENITIES CONSUL GENERAL ASKED WHETHER THEY THOUGHT THEIR DELEGATION HAD CONTRIBUTED TO PEACE IN VIET- NAM THROUGH THEIR PERFORMANCE IN THE ICCS. THEY CLAIMED THEY HAD. THE CONSUL GENERAL SAID SOME PEOPLE THOUGHT THEY HAD BEEN OBSTRUCTING THE CAUSE OF PEACE, BY MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE ICCS TO CONDEMN THEIR IDEOLOGICAL COMRADES, THE PRG, FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THE ICCS, REGARDLESS OF IDEOLOGY, BE OBJECTIVE IN THEIR INVESTIGATIONS AND REPORTS. WE ARE PREPARED TO SEE THE GVN CONDEMNED IF THEY VIOLATE THE CEASE- FIRE; BUT THE REFUSAL OF POLAND AND HUNGARY TO CONDEMN THE PRG, REGARDLESS OF THE FACTS, NOT ONLY DOES NOT RESTRAIN THE PRG, BUT ENCOURAGES IT TO BELIEVE IT CAN VIOLATE THE CEASE- FIRE WITH IMPUNITY. THE HUNGARIANS SHOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THEIR PRG FRIENDS TO RESTRAIN THEM FROM BREAKING THE AGREEMENT.

3. BARABAS AND RYBKA PROTESTED THAT THE HUNGARIAN DELEGATION WANTS PEACE IN VIET- NAM, AND IS OBJECTIVE IN THE ICCS. BUT MOST IMPORTANT INSTITUTION IN THE AGREEMENT IS THE JMC, NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ICCS. AND FAILURE TO GRANT DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES HAD PREVENTED THE PRG COMPONENT OF THE JMC FROM DEPLOYING. MOREOVER, PRINCIPAL TASK OF THE ICCS IS NOT INVESTIGATIONS AND REPORTS, WHICH ONLY TEND TO DIVIDE THE PARTIES, BUT QUIET DIPLOMACY DESIGNED TO BRING THEM TOGETHER. BARABAS ADDED, " THE ICCS IS NOT A ONE- DELEGATION SHOW, OR EVEN A ONE-MAN SHOW, ESPECIALLY WHEN THAT MAN IS THE HEAD OF THE DELEGA-

TION THAT IS SUPPOSEDLY WITHDRAWING." BOTH HUNGARIANS WERE BITTER ABOUT CANADIAN AMBASSADOR GAUVIN'S RAZZLE- DAZZLE TACTICS, INCLUDING PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE OTHER DELEGATIONS, WHICH HAD APPARENTLY SUCCEEDED IN GIVING THE PRESS THE IMPRESSION THAT ONLY THE CANADIAN DELEGATION IS TAKING ITS ICCS ROLE SERIOUSLY. THEY, THE HUNGARIANS, HAD BEHAVED WITH DIGNITY IN THEIR PRESS CONTACTS.

4. CONSUL GENERAL MADE THE POINT THAT CONDEMNATION OF PRG BY UNANIMOUS ICCS COULD CERTAINLY HAVE INHIBITING EFFECT ON FUTURE PRG CEASE- FIRE VIOLATIONS, OR AT LEAST AN IMPACT ON WORLD OPINION. HUNGARIANS DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF A FULLY DEPLOYED JMC, THEY MIGHT CONDEMN PRG VIOLATIONS. BUT THEY EMPHASIZED THAT " NOT ALL PARTIES ARE EQUALLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO WORLD OPINION"; THEY REITERATED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR QUIET DIPLOMACY; THEY POINTED OUT THAT THE ICCS HAS NOT FOUND THAT THE GVN HAS COMMITTED ANY SERIOUS CEASE- FIRE VIOLATIONS AND THEY CONTENDED THAT THE GVN'S VIOLATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT -- SUCH AS REFUSAL TO GRANT DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES PROVIDED IN ARTICLE 11 -- WERE MUCH MORE SERIOUS THAN PRG CEASE- FIRE VIOLATIONS, YET THEY HAD ESCAPED THE ATTENTION OF THE ICCS.

5. HUNGARIANS ASKED THE CONSUL GENERAL HOW HE VIEWED PROSPECTS IN MR 3 FOR OBSERVANCE OF THE " REAL CEASE- FIRE'. CONSUL GENERAL REPLIED THAT THE FIRST FEW HOURS OF THE NEW CEASE- FIRE HAD BEEN QUIET, AND HE KNEW THAT MR 3 CG LTG MINH HAD ORDERED HIS TROOPS TO " STRICTLY OBSERVE" THE CEASE- FIRE. BUT MOST GVN AND RVNAF OFFICIALS WERE STILL SKEPTICAL OF THE PRG'S GOOD WILL, BECAUSE OF THEIR LAND- GRABBING TACTICS JUST BEFORE THE JANUARY 28 CEASE- FIRE AND THEIR NUMEROUS VIOLATIONS SINCE THEN. BARABAS ASKED WHAT ABOUT GVN VIOLATIONS OF PRG- CONTROLLED TERRITORY ALONG INTERPROVINCIAL ROUTE 2 IN PHUOC TUY AND GHNG KHANH PROVINCES. THE CONSUL GENERAL SAID HE CONFIDENTIAL

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UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE HAD BEEN RF OUTPOSTS ALL ALONG ROUTE 2 FOR SOME TIME BEFORE THE CEASE- FIRE, AND COMMUNIST FLAGS ONLY APPEARED THERE AT THE MOMENT OF CEASE- FIRE.

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FM AMCONSUL BIEN HOA

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INFO AMCONSUL CAN THO

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SECSTATE WASHINGTON 023

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BIEN HOA 0221

6. HUNGARIANS THEN ASKED THE CONSUL GENERAL WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE GVN WOULD REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE PRG ON ZONES OF CONTROL WITHIN SOUTH VIET- NAM. THE CONSUL GENERAL SAID THAT WAS UP TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES, BUT THE GVN CONCEPT OF ZONES OF CONTROL SEEMS TO BE DIFFERENT THAN THE PRG' S AND MOREOVER THE GVN IS RELUCTANT TO MOVE TOWARD EVEN TEMPORARY RECOGNITION OF PRG CONTROL OVER ANY AREA IN SOUTH VIET- NAM, UNLESS THERE IS ALSO MOVEMENT TOWARD A POLITICAL SOLUTION THROUGH GENERAL ELECTIONS, LEST THE ZONES EVOLVE INTO A DE FACTO PARTITION OF THE COUNTRY. THE HUNGARIANS SAID THAT WHATEVER CONCEPT ONE APPLIES, THERE ARE SOME AREAS UNDER PRG CONTROL, AND THE AGREEMENT REQUIRES THAT THESE BE RECOGNIZED.

7. HUNGARIANS ASKED CONSUL GENERAL AT WHAT LEVEL HE " PERSONALLY"
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THOUGHT OPPOSING FIELD COMMANDERS SHOULD MEET EACH OTHER. THE CONSUL GENERAL SAID THAT TOO WAS UP TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES, BUT HE EXPLAINED SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT THE GVN HAS TOLD US IT HAS WITH MEETINGS OF COMMANDERS.

8. HUNGARIANS SAID THEY " PERSONALLY" WERE " A LITTLE BIT HOPE-

FUL" ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE AFTER THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE.

9. LATER, AT LUNCH WITH CONSULS, HUNGARIANS ASKED ABOUT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND PROSPECTS OF THE RVN, EXPANDED ON SOME OF THE POINTS INDICATED ABOVE, AND DEALT WITH SOME OTHERS. ANSWERING WHAT THEY CALLED A " LOADED" QUESTION ON WHETHER THEY HAD FOUND THINGS IN SOUTH VIET- NAM TO BE DIFFERENT THAN THEY EXPECTED, THEY CONCEDED THAT THEY GVN AND RVNAF LOOKED BETTER THAN THEY HAD THOUGHT. BUT THEY ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THE MASSIVE US AIRLIFT OF EQUIPMENT OF RVNAF JUST BEFORE THE JANUARY CEASE- FIRE, AND IN GENERAL THEY DID NOT ACCEPT THAT VIETNAMIZATION HAD HAD ANY SUCCESS. THE SURVIVAL OF THE GVN DESPITE US TROOP WITHDRAWAL, AND IN THE FACE OF THE " PRG" 1972 OFFENSIVE, WAS DUE SOLELY TO US AIR POWER AND TO CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

10 BARABAS ADMITTED THAT GVN WOULD WIN ANY GENERAL ELECTION IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, BECAUSE THE GVN NOW CONTROLS MOST OF THE PEOPLE AND WILL NOT ALLOW THE PRG ACCESS TO THEM, WHILE FOR ITS PART THE PRG HAS BEEN USING ESSENTIALLY MILITARY STRUGGLE TACTICS FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS AND IS NOT READY FOR THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE. THE " SOCIALIST CAMP" WANTS PEACE IN SOUTH VIET- NAM, AND HAVE BEEN URGING THE PRG TO GO FOR THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE INSTEAD OF CONTINUING THE WAR, BUT IT WAS UP TO THE AMERICANS TO PERSUADE THE GVN TO PERMIT CONDITIONS OF FREE POLITICAL COMPETITION. IN THE MEDIUM TERM, BARABAS THOUGHT A " LAOS- TYPE" SOLUTION WOULD BE BEST -- A COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH ITS SEPARATE ELEMENTS IN CONTROL OF DIFFERENT ZONES OF THE COUNTRY.

11. CONVERSATION CLOSED WITH HUNGARIANS EXPRESSING HOPE CONSULS WOULD NOT REPEAT WHAT WE HAD DISCUSSED TO GVN CONTACTS, AND INTEREST IN MAINTAINING CONTACTS WITH CONSULS.

12. COMMENT:
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A. WHILE WE HAVE NO DOUBTS ABOUT DEVOTION OF HUNGARIANS TO ULTIMATE VICTORY OF THEIR VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST COMRADES, THESE HUNGARIANS WERE AT PAINS TO GIVE IMPRESSION THEY REALLY BELIEVED IN THEIR QUIET DIPLOMACY CONCEPT OF THEIR ICCS ROLE, AND WERE SEARCHING FOR WAYS TO ADVANCE CAUSE OF PEACE IN WAKE OF THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE. SINCE CANADIAN- STYLE ACTIVIST, INVESTIGATION- ORIENTED, OPEN DIPLOMACY SEEMS NOT TO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN ADVANCING WORK OF ICCS, THIS APPROACH MAY BE WORTH FURTHER CONSIDERATION.

B. SOME OF THE ADMISSIONS THE HUNGARIANS MADE ABOUT THE PERFORMANCE AND THE STRENGTH OF THE GVN, HOWEVER REATIONALIZED, INDICATE THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE REALITIES OF SOUTH VIET- NAM ARE PENETRATING CONSCIOUSNESS OF SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS.

C. HUNGARIAN INTEREST IN EARLY RESTORATION OF
DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES, MEETINGS OF OPPOSING COMMANDERS, AND
DELINEATION OF ZONES OF CONTROL, COMBINED WITH EXCUSES ON WHY
A GENERAL ELECTION CANNOT TAKE PLACE SOON, TEND TO CONFIRM
INFORMATION FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT COMMUNISTS KNOW THEY CANNOT
WIN SUCH AN ELECTION AND ARE WORKING TOWARD A LAOS- TYPE DE
FACTO PARTITION OF SOUTH VIET- NAM IN THE MEDIUM- TERM. END COMMENT
WALKINSHAW

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*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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